

STATINTL

**PROPOSED CONSULAR CONVENTION  
WITH SOVIET UNION MORE TO  
ADVANTAGE OF UNITED STATES  
THAN TO RUSSIA**

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, it is evident from the tremendous volume of pressure mail I have been receiving from Ohio citizens expressing objection to the proposed consular convention with the Soviet Union, that these citizens have unfortunately been misinformed. Right-wing extremists have circulated pamphlets distorting the facts. Probably the authors of those pamphlets themselves never read this proposed consular convention upon which we Senators have been asked to advise and consent and ratify.

I consider if Ohio citizens had read the consular convention, the hearings before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, the majority report and the minority views, there would be no such volume of mail, including hundreds of postcards and letters that I have received evidencing a lack of understanding of this treaty or convention.

Some have stated that hearings should be held before the Senate votes to ratify.

Those writers are ignorant of the fact that hearings were held.

The facts are that the Soviet Government has the right to open consulates in New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, and this Nation has the right to open consulates in cities within the Soviet Union, even if this consular convention were voted down in the Senate or had not been presented to the Senate. The Soviet Union closed its three consulates in our country in 1948. These were in New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. In turn, we closed our consulate in Vladivostok and refused to open a consulate in Leningrad and another Russian city. Permission had been given to open such consulates.

Ours is an open society. It is a fact that in nearly all of our embassies overseas we have CIA operatives, or spies, who are on the Embassy staffs. Of course, the Soviet Embassy in Washington also is staffed with spies who are listed as officials of the embassy. I have personally talked with some of our CIA operatives in our embassies in foreign countries and know the facts.

The Soviet Union with its satellites and our Nation with our satellites are maintaining surveillance taking pictures of missile installations. This consular treaty is more to the advantage of the United States than it is to the Soviet Union. Last year 12,000 American tourists visited the Soviet Union. Only 204 Russian tourists visited the United States during the same period. It is very important and helpful to American tourists to be able to go to the office of the American consul in countries whenever they encounter difficulty, financial or otherwise. This consular convention is definitely beneficial to Americans. The junior Senator from Ohio intends to vote in favor of ratification.

At the present time, assuming some of the more than 12,000 American tourists who will visit the Soviet Union during the present year lack sufficient funds, they would be compelled to go to the American Embassy in Moscow even though they were in some faraway city within the Soviet Union such as Vladivostok or somewhere closer to Leningrad. Furthermore, in event of a traffic accident or were they to be charged with some offense, however slight, they would now be at a disadvantage. They would not only have the language barrier but they would be altogether unfamiliar with the laws and ordinances of the Soviet Union. They would have no place to which to turn except to the U.S. Ambassador or some member of his staff. They might be many miles from our Embassy.

The facts are, the provisions of this convention are similar in substance to all consular conventions between the United States and other nations. Some misinformed individuals write me objecting that article 19, paragraph 2, of this convention, providing that all consular officials and employees who are nationals of the sending state shall be immune from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving state. This paragraph, instead of being objectionable, is definitely to the advantage of our Nation. It insures the security of the U.S. Government consular personnel who are in

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the Soviet Union. The Soviet police have no right whatever to arrest any of our consular officials or employees. Nor have we any right to arrest Soviet consular officials and employees who are in their consulates within our country. We do have the right, which is a reciprocal right, to expel immediately from our territory as persona non grata any Soviet consular officials or employees who have allegedly violated any of our laws. We may expel any of such persons without announcing the reason. Russia has this right also.

Now, to the claim that some rightwing extremists make regarding the Soviet Embassy in Washington being staffed with spies. Of course, it is well known that intelligence agents, or spies, are on the staffs of Embassies and consuls of the Soviet Union and on the staff of practically all Embassies of the United States the world over and also on the staffs of any of our consulates wherever that staff consists of more than a very few individuals.

I recall distinctly an Ambassador to a Central American country regretfully reporting to me that he could place for my use only a rather old automobile which was provided for his use as Ambassador. He said that a new clerk, or attaché, on his staff had just come from the United States—He was at a very low echelon in his Embassy staff—and unfortunately this clerk brought with him the latest model Chrysler automobile and his blond secretary brought with her the latest model Chevrolet. He said, of course, the Russians and Chinese are not stupid. They knew immediately that he was a CIA agent instead of an Embassy clerk in which category he was listed.

The wisdom and good judgment of the Senate would be manifested by our ratifying this consular convention.

Mr. President, the ratification of the consular convention with the Soviet Union will not only further more normal relations with the Soviet Union, but will be another small step forward in the long road toward permanent peace.

It will not only help reduce sources of friction between us and the Russians but will encourage the Soviet Union to conduct itself like other responsible nations in its treatment of foreigners and foreign interests within its borders.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The time of the Senator from Ohio has expired.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, ours is an open society. The Soviet Union is a closed society. The convention, or treaty, can be a wedge toward opening the Soviet Union to the ideas and thoughts of the West. The winds of change and freedom are blowing throughout the world and every attempt possible should be made to permit them to flow through the Soviet Union.

Travel of Americans to the Soviet Union will increase each year. The ratification of this convention will be

of immediate benefit to Americans in terms of added protection that will be given to American tourists in the Soviet Union. In this respect it has a special advantage for our Nation.

The consular convention does not by itself authorize the opening of any consulates in either country, but merely provides a legal framework for their operation when and if they are opened. In the past this Nation and the Soviet Union have exchanged consulates but there has never been a consular convention between the two countries.

Furthermore, this convention would encourage trade between the United States and the Soviet Union. We should proceed without delay to establish normal trade relations with the Soviet Union in nonstrategic materials selling at the outset whatever we produce that they may eat, drink, smoke, or wear and buying from them products which we need and can use and of which we are lacking in this country. This will not only ease international tensions but will bring added prosperity to businessmen and working men and women throughout the Nation, and in particular will help bring added prosperity to our family farmers and wheat growers.

Furthermore, I propose that such trade be made at world prices for cash on the barrelhead and without any special favors or special discrimination. Why should we Americans stand at the sidelines while Canada, Great Britain, Australia, West Germany, and other of our allies trade on a huge scale with the Soviet Union and Red China? Last year West Germany exported more than \$1 billion in goods and capital equipment to eastern Europe. One-third of France's exports of capital goods according to plans will go to the Soviet Union during the next 5 years.

It is unconscionable that West Germany, France, and Italy attain full employment and enjoy unparalleled prosperity in large part as a result of their trade, while we, their ally and protector, are depriving our businessmen and workers of the opportunity to engage in this trade and are losing markets which in the near future may be of much greater value.

There is no question that the trade between the Soviet Union and the United States will increase in years to come. It is essential that we have consular officials in key Russian commercial centers to help normalize that trade, and aid American farmers, wheat producers, and businessmen seeking it.

Mr. President, most of the opposition to this convention arises from a fear that the Soviet Union will be able to establish additional bases of espionage in this country through newly opened consulates. Secretary of State Rusk assured the Committee on Foreign Relations that if, after ratification of the convention, we agree to the opening of a Soviet consulate in an American city, its employees will be subject to the same visa screening and entry controls as officers and employees of the Soviet Embassy in Washington. They would also be subject to the same travel restrictions now

applied to Soviet officers assigned to Soviet missions in the United States. Furthermore, they would be subject to the expulsion provision of the Consular Convention.

The important fact is that we would be giving the Soviet Union nothing that it does not already have. At the present time it is free to staff its missions in the United States and its Embassy in Washington just as we freely select our own staff members of our Embassy in the Soviet Union. Undoubtedly, some of these so-called diplomats are Russian intelligence agents or to state the matter bluntly "spies." I would be shocked to learn that we did not have a number of intelligence agents among our diplomatic representatives in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, this is a fact of life in the cold war and we can play the game as well as they. The danger of a few more Russian agents posing as diplomats is infinitesimal compared to the benefits to be gained by the ratification of this convention.

Mr. President, it appears to me that the real reason why some oppose ratification is not because of Russian spying but because they fear any attempt to normalize relations with the Communist bloc nations and in their shortsightedness and belligerence oppose reducing world tensions. If we are ever to attain lasting peace it can only be achieved by experiments in cooperation by the citizens of the free world and those of the Communist bloc. We must begin cooperating in limited areas which are in the best interests of both nations. The ratification of the Consular Convention with the Soviet Union is one such area where we can begin. Mr. President, I spoke out for, and voted in favor of, confirming the limited nuclear test ban treaty. I am on the side of those who hope for and strive for coexistence with nations behind the Iron Curtain, instead of co-annihilation.